A comparative view of the Anti-Slavery & Colonization Societies, in reference to their probable success.

– It is our present design to bring the Anti Slavery & Colonization Societies to the test of a few general principles, in the hope of thus being enabled to discover the comparative probable result of their operations. –

Definiteness of Object is of primary importance in any moral or physical enterprise. Other things being equal, of two similar institutions, that one is the most likely to be effective, which is founded upon some definite design for accomplishment. The Am. Bible Soc. has one, & but one object; this cannot be mistaken, it cannot be avoided. The Temp. Soc. is of similar character, it has definiteness: it does not waste itself in declamations about intemperance, but proposes one, plain, decisive remedy. If any additions should ever be made to the present system – which Heaven forbid – its unity of purpose will be lost, & the cause will be lost. The rationale of this principle is almost self-evident: unless we have a definite object, we can pursue no definite measures, – we only beat the air with our weapons.

In one sense, the professed object of the Anti Slav. & Col. Soc.s is the same, viz, the abolition of Slavery, & the elevation of the blacks in character. But this is rather an ulterior object, & can only be attained through the medium of some more tangible & secondary result: & hence it is that the two Soc.s widely differ. Our meaning may be illustrated by reference to the Temp. enterprise. For half a

century, Soc.s have existed in this country, professedly "for the suppression of Intemp." & yet till within ten years, nothing was accomplished. A new enterprise has been started, with the same ulterior design, & a wonderful work has been done. Whence the difference? It is in the use of secondary means: it is the definiteness of object with modern Temp. Soc. that has caused the change.

The Anti Sla. & Col. Soc.s are therefore to be examined, not in reference to the ulterior design, exclusively or primarily, but with respect to the means of accomplishment.

The design of the Col. Soc. is the colonization of free people of color, on the coast of Africa, with their own consent. The ultimate object is the freeing this country of her black population, & of course, of her slaves; & the regeneration of another continent.

The object of the Am. Anti Sla. Soc. - as laid down in her documents, is "the entire abolition of slavery in the U. States." The mediate operation, through which this is to be brought about, seems unfortunately to have been forgotten. We may however, before closing, by reference to her supporters, be able to discover somewhat, wherein lies her modus operandi.

The plan of the Col. Soc. is seen at once to be definite, tangible, & practicable. The plan is definite, it is reducible to numbers; advances have been made upon it, & the results may be enumerated. It is tangible: - a vision may be definite & yet must be intangible - but this scheme is approachable, it deals with men & things, & with theories no further than is necessary. It is practicable; - we are not just at present intending to calculate its probable success; - in saying, it is practicable, we merely assert, that there is no decisive hindrance in its way.

The ulterior object of the Anti Slav. Soc. is good, - but it is its plan alone, that we deal with. This is neither definite, tangible, nor practicable. It is indefinite, - it deals in abstractions, it wants lines & boundaries. It show what ought to be accomplished, but does not say what must be done: - it can show no result. It is intangible, - it will not be touched; it is a sensitive plant, - with all its boasting as to thorough investigation, - it shrinks from the touch. It is impracticable, that is, there are insurmountable impediments in its path.

We wish now, as briefly & concisely as possible, to place the two Soc.s in parallel columns, with reference to a few principles & facts; that the probable result of both may be thus inferred. We take things as they are, we enter into no controversy about abstract principles, for, allow the Abolitionists every inch of the ground they claim, - as to the sinfulness of Slavery, per se, & so on, - & it does not alter the case one iota; - it is the means of getting rid of this or of any other evil, that we are to regard. The Ministers of the Gospel, the Miss.s of the cross, study the mode of destroying vice & establishing virtue, - they plan, before they execute, - they study policy, - they take man as he is, & strive to make him better. - Abo. Slavery is an evil in its consequences, - the question is, - can it be got rid of, - & how? And -

I. The plan of the Colonizationists is Definite, - that of the Abolitionists, is not. - The consideration of this point has been to a certain extent anticipated, but yet we would insist upon it, as of primary importance. Every particle of influence, & every dollar of money appropriated to the cause of Col. must bear upon a definite point, - & the success must therefore be in proportion to the influence & money contributed. The full success of the enterprise must therefore depend upon the extent of its sup-

-pat, - the powr, physical & moral, cannot be wasted in idle declamations, or in useless expenditures; there must be something to show for all that is contributed. This is not to say, that the affairs of the Soc. may not at some period, & under some circumstances, be mismanaged, - but this is an evil, to which, every human project must, from its nature, be exposed. But, in general, so definite is the design of the Soc. - there must always be something done, & the public must know what is done.

As to the Anti Sla. Soc. it is exceeding difficult to discover what they are doing, or, what they expect to do. - 'O Slavery! thou art a bitter draught!' - seems to be the burden of their song; they make many speeches, but - cui bono? If money be raised, it is to perpetuate these speech-makers, & again - cui bono? What is their distinct object? To influence the public mind. To influence it to what? Why, to abolish Slavery. But how to abolish it? Ah, that is rather too definite a point. But, say they, when the people of the North are all influenced, they will influence the South: & when the Southerners are influenced, they will influence the laws: & when the laws are influenced, then Slavery will be influenced: & when Slavery is influenced, the Slave will be free! Ah! when, — this "when" is the great difficulty, & no earthly project is yet started, by which this "when" can be taken out of the way. It is useless to retail anecdotes, & cull misquoted facts, & excite the people, without an object, — without a mode of accomplishing an object.

Without reference to the right or wrong of either enterprise, does not the definiteness of the Col. cause speak loudly in favor of its final success & dominance over the mind of the people, - & too, for its ultimate accomplishment of the extinction of Slavery? If it does not have this effect, what earthly means ever will? -

And, on the contrary, the indefiniteness of the Abolition cause is the worm at its root, - it may, for a time, spread forth its foliage & expand its branches, but it is a rank growth, - it must die in a night. A small multitude may for a time - in the honest sincerity of confiding imbecility - take refuge under its shade, but they will not tarry long.

II. An enterprise, which proposes a sudden or immediate change of policy, when that policy relates to a long standing & deeply-rooted evil, is less likely to succeed permanently, than that more prudent scheme, which investigates, & considers, & calmly decides. The policy of the reign of the First Charles was set aside but for a short time, only to be replaced by a state of things, infinitely worse: - the despotism of the Louis was not washed out, - but only covered over by the blood of the revolution; - change of policy, to be advantageous, must always be gradual.

The effect of the Abol. enterprise must from necessity be gradual, & there is one peculiarity of the scheme which should not be lost sight of, that, let it stop when & where it will, it will cease to exist, not without having brought to pass some reward of its labors: - it is not merely one, great, distant object which is in view, but every step is marked by a triple, - every blow tells. Great masses are generally but aggregates of small particles, & with many laborers, & extensive resources, the huge pyramid may quickly rise; - so it may be with the Abol. cause, - multiplying its operations in a sufficient ratio, & the deed is done.

But the Abolitionists propose but one object, - that object, to be vast & universal, & to be accomplished in a day! The immediability of the thing (to use a word of their own coining) is the great watchword with them; & in fact, they seem to look with a sort of religious horror, upon the abolition of slavery,

at any future period, or, in any other way but their own, — or, through the instrumentality of any other men, but those who can pronounce the Shibboleth of their own party.

Which, of two such schemes, is it most reasonable to think will finally succeed? succeed, we mean, in accomplishing any great, desirable good? Which is most likely to take firm hold of the influential, the enlightened, the Christianized among the people?

III. It is an unfortunate sign, when the abettors of any enterprise are continually obliged to go out of the way to find fault with & oppose the plans of a different cause. It is a misapplication of energy, which bodes no good for the final success of the undertaking.

For some years after its foundation, the Col. Soc. found no enemies, but among the upholders of Slavery, & yet it triumphed over these, even beyond the most confident expectations of its founders. But within a few years, in an entirely opposite direction, a new foe has started into notice, & while it has not dared to wield the sword of the right hand against its prior opponents, it has been obliged to extend the shield of the left, to parry the arrows of the new aggressor. It would not be strange, goaded as she has been, if at times she should exhibit a degree of bitterness, unworthy of her standing & profession: this may have been the case; we believe it has been so but rarely. The Col. Soc. does not attack the Abolitionists, as a Soc. — but every good citizen is bound to thrust at the monster, when she strikes her parricidal blows against the Constitution of her country. Colonizationists have too much to do in furthering their own noble designs, to occupy themselves thus, her energies are applied to the advancement of her own designs: and when a man of business is mostly oc-

occupied with his own concerns, & not with those of his neighbors, we are ready to predict his success.

But, on the other hand, the Abolitionists have expended their best strength, in waging war with the only enterprise, which, till within five years, ever professed to have for its object the ridding our country of Slavery. What then – if Abolitionists succeed – must be the nature of their success? If they spend a pound in the cause of Anti-Col. & a groat in that of Abol. – what must be the result? – They may destroy Col. & then, like earthworms, crawl over and batten upon the carcase, but, would this be success? would it be worth their pains? It was the fortune of the writer, not many months since, to be present at a Monthly Concert of the Anti Sla. Soc. a meeting professedly religious & exclusively so. It so chanced, that a very tolerable leaven of Colonizationism was scattered through the house, & the consequence was, the exercises were all calm, solemn, devout, – & while the African was borne upon the prayers of Christians up to the throne of mercy, all institutions having for their object the melioration of the condition of the African, & upon whose measures God could spread down his blessing, were remembered & supplicated for. It was a pleasant & rational gathering together. A few rather outrageous Anti Sla. hymns were sung, & one or two gentle attempts were made to excite to more animation & zeal, but nothing was started gross enough to warm the scene. – The coming day, the Abol.ts vented no small degree of rage, at the aspect of their last evening's concert, – it was too stupid, & mild, & calm an affair for them, & as was remarked, they were determined, before another meeting to send off to a distance for some regular, red hot Abol.ts They succeeded in their application, & at the following convocation, were blessed with high pressure Abol. steam in abundance.

Of two men, professedly engaged in the furtherance of the same end, we most readily trust that one & prophesy his success, who conducts with the most calmness, & trusts himself least with others. If the Col. & Abol. Soc.s are judged by this standard, which is most likely to prosper?

IV. That enterprise, which is most ready to comply with all reasonable requisitions, is more likely to succeed than one, proceeding on the unyielding, uncompromising principle.

In reference to the question of compensation for liberated slaves, the two Soc.s before us widely differ.-

Colonizationists feel, that while they themselves are called upon to sacrifice nothing of consequence, they cannot consistently call upon the slave holder to give up all, without offering him any equivalent for his loss.

Rather Abol.s say, that Slavery must be abolished, but, fortunately for their purses, they will resist unto death the principle of compensation. And, as it is fact, that the slave trade in America was principally carried on by northern merchants, - these Abol.s who are enjoying wealth obtained by this means, should be careful not to expect the slave holder to give up his slaves without compensation, till he himself is ready to refund his ill gotten gains.

Let us here observe again illustrate the striking difference in the Soc.s before us, in reference to the providing a way by which the Abol. of Sla. may be accomplished: - one, seizing hold of every just & proper means, the other, rejecting all.

Considering this point, which enterprise, the Col. or the Abol. is most likely ultimately or immediately, to accomplish the great work?

V. The different aspect of the two Soc.s in reference to the General & State Constitutions, is worthy of notice, in the consideration of their probable relative success.

The design of the Colonizationists is not only directly in accordance with the governmental rules of the States, but the Soc. has been directly aided in many instances by the Legislatures. This Soc. in this respect, stands almost alone. If government can be induced to aid a voluntary association, it receives an impetus, incommunicable in any other way. Even in a republic, public sentiment is more readily influenced by government, than government by public sentiment.

The Abolitionists — unless they resort to mob law, & this, their present respectability forbids — cannot pretend to hope for the accomplishment of their plans, till the laws are altered. It is a slow & difficult thing to alter governments, — & it should be so.

Which Soc. then, in this point of light, seems most likely to bring about immediate Abolition?

VI. Abolitionists & Colonizationists both allow that the only hope of success is through the influence of Southern opinion. It would be absurd to pretend to enter upon a laboured comparison of the two Soc.s in reference to this point.

The present state of opinion at the South, as respects the two associations, is not doubtful; but, say the Abol.s we see great & sudden changes in public opinion every day, — the public sentiment on this subject may be as completely & suddenly changed. This is reasoning from analogy, — but what analogy will lead us out in supposing, that, of two persons, each proposing to rid us of an evil, the one which threatens us

with fire & sword, & deals in denunciations is more likely to find favor than its contrary? Reference is made to the Temp. enterprise, as an illustration of the change of sentiment, in which the Abol.ts look. But Temp. Soc.s have not altered public opinion, they have brought it into action & somewhat modified it; the alteration is made, if made at all, upon the profligate, - the wise & good men always Temperate. But now the wise & good - at the South, at least - are Col.n - their opinion must be changed, before the Abol. cause can succeed. And their opinion is founded upon principle, - & the wise are not willing readily to sacrifice principle.

VIII. The prevalent state of opinion among the blacks themselves should not be lost sight of, in this discussion: & if we were disposed to blink the question, our Abol. friends would hardly allow it.

In predicting success to the cause of Col. we do not mean to say, that all the colored population will be removed to Africa, - we do not know that it would be desirable. In New England, the blacks - through the Anti Col. influence exerted upon them - are generally opposed to the enterprise. But the blacks in that section of the country are not sufficiently numerous to be dreaded; & we have been told, upon good authority, that they are fast decreasing in those States. The town of Lowell, Mass. - with a population of nearly fifteen thousand, contains but thirty six blacks, men, women & children.

But, if Col.n is to remove Slavery, it is with emancipated blacks at the South, that it must deal, & facts do certainly declare, that they are not only willing, but anxious

to return to their native land. Let the general senti-
ment of the blacks be as it may, in respect to Col.ns
& Abol.ns, it can affect the Abol. cause in but one way,
- in its opposition to Col.n. so that, upon the whole, we
must conclude, that, if the opinion of the colored
people is of any account in the discussion, it argues
for the final triumph of Col.n

VIII. And, finally, it is always fair to reason from the
past to the future. We now place the two Soc.s side by side,
& ask, What have they done? Not, what they design — not,
what they hope — not, what they have said —, but, what
have they done? Money has been contributed to both, -
influence, to some extent, has been given to both, - speeches
have been made by both; - & all this might continue to
be done till the restoration of Israel, & yet nothing be
effected by either. There is a vast difference between what
is done for a thing, & what is done by it.

Col.s have put their energies in action, they have
caused the slave to leap up in the consciousness of joyful
liberty, they have shown him his father land again,
they have planted an Empire! It is saying a great thing,
but it is a truth.

The Abol.s what have they done? Nothing. We say
it unhesitatingly, nothing. They are always preparing
to do, - but what can they do? What end of the machine
can they touch?

We judge of a man's ability by his deed, - why
not apply this rule to bodies of men? We judge of a man's
future, by his past success, - why not apply the same

standard to societies of men?

In the consideration of this subject, we have avoided all discussion of the comparative propriety or justice of the measures of the two Soc.s our only aim has been to judge of the probable results of the measures in operation: & in reference to definiteness of plan, prudence & wisdom of operation, to the bearing of the scheme upon our governments, to Southern feeling & opinion, to the state of feeling among the blacks themselves, & finally, in consideration of what has been done, we are led to conclude that the Col. cause is incalculably more likely to triumph than its opponents, the Abol. conspirators.

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August. 1834.